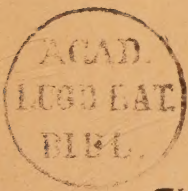


PHALLICISM IN JAPAN

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF ARTS,
LITERATURE, AND SCIENCE, OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF CHICAGO, IN CANDIDACY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY

BY

EDMUND BUCKLEY



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PHALLOS AND KTEIS AT YAMADA. Cf. p. 12.

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DEDICATION.

Respectfully dedicated as an expression of highest esteem to Emil G. Hirsch, Ph.D., Professor of Rabbinical Literature and Philosophy in the University of Chicago and Rabbi in the Sinai Congregation, Chicago, that profound scholar and ever ready patron of liberal learning, without whose generous aid in the Emil G. Hirsch fellowship, this thesis could not have been written.

PREFACE.

This thesis is meant for a study in Shinto, while a work complete at least in outline will be published so soon as opportunity offers.

The circumscription in the circulation of an academic monograph renders admissible a detail and frankness in the treatment of phallicism which would be inadmissible in work destined for the general public. Should any general reader happen upon this article and find it unduly stimulating his lower sensibility, he may thereby judge his distance from the scientific purpose of the writer, and will do better in passing the article to fitter hands. Finally let me say that in breaking such new ground as is here done, errors both of commission and omission must occur, and these should meet with prompt correction at the hands of the many scholars in Japan who are best fitted to the task.

INTRODUCTION.

BIBLIOGRAPHY ON PHALLCISM IN JAPAN.

On this topic no book of course is to be expected, but there is moreover no monograph, article, or chapter, and but four stray references to the topic as such in any of the very numerous works treating of Japan, or of Shinto, its native faith, which I have been able, after visiting libraries in many capitals, to consult. These four references are a description of a phallic festival by Dresser, a single sentence by Dr. J. J. Rein, a footnote by Rev. W. E. Griffis, D.D., and a brief paragraph in the Handbook to Japan. Each will be quoted in its proper place. Neither in accounts of Shinto is any mention made of phallicism, nor in the accounts of phallicism given in special works—to be described later—is any reference made to Japan. The encyclopædias of course reflect this omission of the special works. Thus Meyer's *Conversations Lexicon* sub *Phallos* states that phallicism "extended from India to the shores of the Nile and Ionian Sea," no doubt ignorant of the cult of Inyōseki in Japan, as of Fricco among the Teutons.

BIBLIOGRAPHY ON SHINTO.

The authorities referred to in this work are *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vols. I.-XXI.; *Japan*, Kaempfer in Pinkerton's *Voyages*, Vol. 7; *Japan*, Caron in the same; *Japan*, S. S. Rein; *Japan*, Dresser; *Mikado's Empire*, W. E. Griffis; *Manners and Customs of the Japanese*, Humbert; *Handbook for Japan*, Chamberlain and Mason; *Mythology and Religious Worship of the Ancient Japanese*, Satow in *Westminster Review* for July, 1878; *Japanese—English Dictionary*, Hepburn; *Inyōseki*, Hirata no Kuro Tane, being selections from the *Koshiden* of Hirata Atsutane; *Notes on the Ancient Stone Implements of Japan*, T. Kanda, Tokyo. The only articles on Shinto at once original and, at least in outline, complete are the three following which are named in their time order:

Mittheilungen über die Kamielehre, by P. Kempermann in *Mittheilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur und Volkerkunde Ostasien's*, January, 1874.

Mythology and Religious Worship of the Ancient Japanese, by E. Satow in *Westminster Review* for July, 1878.

Introduction to the Kojiki, by B. H. Chamberlain in *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*. Supplement to Vol. X., 1882.

It is noteworthy that each of these correct and learned treatises altogether overlooks the phallic cult which is undoubtedly extant in Japan.

BIBLIOGRAPHY ON PHALLICISM.

Though the range of this article is limited to Japan, the general subject of phallicism is so little known even to those likely to meet this paper that a specification of some general sources will probably prove acceptable. It is a matter for regret that treatises on comparative religion omit all recognition of phallicism as a general phase of religion. Of such may be noted:

Primitive Culture, E. B. Tylor, 1871; *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, F. Max Müller, 1882; *Prologomena of the History of Religions*, A. Reville, 1884; *Ecclesiastical Institutions*, H. Spencer, 1885; *Religionsgeschichte*, C. Saussaye, 1887; *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, A. Lang, 1887; *Science of Religions*, E. Burnouf, 1888; *Natural Religion*, F. M. Müller, 1888; *Physical Religion*, F. M. Müller, 1890; *Anthropological Religion*, F. M. Müller, 1891.

We venture to draw special attention to the last but one, which in treating nature-worship should have included phallicism. But while it treats abundantly of fire, it makes no mention of the phallos, or linga as it is called in India, to which country all Mr. Müller's treatises are confined. Yet while the traveler in that country sees little or nothing of fire-cult, he sees hundreds of linga, the whole number being estimated at nothing less than thirty millions!

Saussaye's classic of course mentions phallicism in its historic sections, but no due recognition is made of phallicism in the topical treatment of the subject entitled *Phenomenologischer Theil*. Strangely enough, the immense *Encyclopædia Britannica* has no article on our topic, but the *American and International Encyclo-*

pædias, and the German Conversations Lexicons give correct general statements of it. An excellent account of Indian phallicism appears in the *Hinduism and Brahmanism* of Sir M. Williams (cf. index sub *linga*), and in his *Buddhism*, p. 372. For the wider Aryan field consult *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, by Sir G. W. Cox, though the details here advanced are still under discussion. It is not too much to say that all the works hitherto devoted exclusively to phallicism are unreliable. In fact the rule seems to be, as stated to me by Dr. Reid of the British Museum, that so soon as one begins to study phallicism he goes crazy. The writers of these special works on phallicism are all amateurs—a plurality being medical doctors—and most of them are warped by an anti-Christian bias. They represent the reaction inevitable on the general neglect of the topic by those theologians, philosophers and anthropologists who have for one reason or another ignored a phase of religion, as natural as it was in fact general, if not quite universal. The chief of these special works are:

A Discourse on the Worship of Priapus, by R. P. Knight, to which is added "An Essay on the Worship of the Generative Powers during the Middle Ages of Western Europe," Anon., London, 1865. The starring of this work in Sonnenschein's "Best Books" must be taken strictly in relation to such other works as exist, and not as a sign of satisfactoriness, which in fact it does not possess.

Ancient Faiths embodied in Ancient Names. T. Inman, M.D. This is a work of Dr. Reid's "crazy" kind, full of false etymologies and identifications, and intensely doctrinaire and anti-Christian. Its lexical form affords excellent opportunity for the repetition in which it abounds through the 792 pp. of Vol. I., and the 1028 pp. of Vol. II.! The uncritical nature of the whole may be inferred from the author's caution that where statements in the later portion of the work differ from those in the earlier, the later must be considered correct! Such books will continue to entrap the unwary until accredited writers deal with the topic in its rightful place. Yet Inman demonstrates some survivals in Christianity which its accredited teachers find it convenient to hush up. *Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism*. Same

author. The statement in Sonnenschein that this work will suffice for acquaintance with the author's views, I cannot confirm. Wholesale condemnation of such works are usually as falsely motivated as the works themselves.

Rivers of Life. Forlong, 1883. The experience of this writer throughout a long residence in various parts of India as military engineer makes him an authority on rarely known facts, but his neglect to specify names of places and persons lends the whole an untrustworthy air, and damages it as proof. In the six chapters into which his 548 folio pages are divided, no analysis, progress or order whatsoever is discernible.

Tree and Serpent Worship. J. Fergusson, 1873. This is the Fergusson of archæological and architectural fame and the starring of his work in Sonnenschein is well deserved by his extensive acquaintance with the phallic phenomena of India.

Monumens du Culte Secret des Dames Romaines. A. Caprée, 1874. These are chiefly reproductions of gems engraved by Greek artists at Rome about the time of Augustus, and exhibit in great beauty and detail the phallic sacrifices and processions of their own and preceding ages. Particularly one on Plate 50, representing a phallic procession carved on cornelian, about 2 by 1 inches is, so far as I know, after searching museums around the world, a unique monument of that once familiar rite. It comprises besides the phallos which is borne in triumph under a canopy, a gigantic kteis (pudenda muliebria), a bull, a goat, and numerous musicians.

I met the above works, among others, in the British Museum, most of them in the reserve shelves, to which only special students are allowed access.

MUSEUMS.

1) *Of Shinto Cultus Implements.* The only museums outside Tokyo where I have seen or heard of Shinto cultus implements are the Leyden Museum, the Musée Guimet in Paris, and the Pitt-Rivers Museum in Oxford. The last two make no pretension to completeness, and indeed both are conspicuously incomplete. Phalloi from Japan these museums have none, nor had their curators learned that such objects were found there. Of the Leyden Museum I unfortunately know nothing in detail,

2) *Of Phallic Cultus Implements.* The implements of the phallic cult where possessed at all are mostly withdrawn to secret cabinets, except where so conventional as to run no danger of "scandalizing the prude and the prudent or of pleasing the prurient and the vile." Only in the Naples Museum is any notice given of the existence of such cabinet, or is admittance granted the general public. In all other museums examination is granted only on request and that for scientific purposes. An eminent American anthropologist, known to me, visited the British Museum armed with full credentials to the curator of the religious section, and was allowed to leave without information that a phallic collection originally valued by R. P. Knight at £50,000 was preserved there. It is such precautions—necessary in some degree in behalf of present-day morality—that have made possible that garbling of history, philosophy, comparative religion, and theology that at present misleads the majority of even the highly educated. But true science knows no sex, and those who cannot forget the latter should eschew the former. Altars, reliefs, necklaces, gems, but especially Greek and Roman vases form the most likely places for phallic monuments—except of course phalloi themselves,—and generally stand mixed with other objects quite safe from the observation of the average museum visitor.

Living Authorities on Phallicism in Japan. Though I found no one in Europe or America aware of the presence of phallicism in Japan, I never found an old resident in Japan ignorant of it. It is evidently high time that some mediation be made between these two parties, and such will be the purpose of the present thesis.

I. PHALLICISM IN JAPAN.

Phallicism forms an integral part of nature worship, and as such will, if normal, possess a cult and a creed, though the latter may be in part or even entirely implied, and can then be elicited only by questions put to the devotees. The content of its religious consciousness may then be compared with absolute religion, and finally it may be tested for conduct. These four spheres of religious activity suggest a convenient scheme for tabulating data, and will now be considered in the order named.

The phallic cult, that is worship or ceremony, requires a consideration of temples, symbols, festivals, and rituals.

I. *Temples*.—Such phallic temples include (1) the fully equipped “miya” or temple with resident priest or priests; (2) the smaller miya with only occasional services; (3) the mere sheds protecting from the rain, rows of phalloi; and, (4) a mere fence or boundary, while the phallos stands in the open. To the first class belongs a miya at Kasashima, fifteen miles south of Sendai, said to have been founded about 250 B. C. by Yamato Takeru No Mikoto. The deity worshiped is Saruta Hiko No Mikoto, of whom more later. In the service of this famous temple were once fifteen resident priests with their families and houses.

To the same first class belongs a miya at Makiborimura in Iwade Ken. The deities here are Izanagi, Izanami, and Saruta Hiko, which three are associated with *Konsei Dai Myojin* “Root of Life Great Shining God.”

To the second class belongs the shrine at Kande, eight miles inland from Akashi near Kobe, locally called Dai Seki Miya, or Ra no Seki Miya—Great Stone Shrine, or Penis Stone Shrine. Its seclusion in the country has saved its gigantic phallos from the iconoclastic zeal of the reformer to bless the eyes of the archæologist. I hope the moss-grown pillar deity I found here may yet be granted a place of honor in some museum when the rising sun of an exacter science and a nobler faith has enlight-

ened the simple, honest country folk who now trust in him for various daily needs. This miya is about ten feet square, hung with native pictures, furnished with altar and gohei—symbol of divinity,—and provided back and front with a wooden grating through which the four feet high phallos may be seen standing behind the miya within an oblong stone fence, but unsheltered save by the bamboo forest around. The ground inside this fence is thickly covered with shells, of which more later. Some score yards from the shrine and phallos stands a kteis, formed in this instance by a natural collocation of three rocks, the whole being some five feet high, and requiring so much imagination to construe into a kteis that I doubt not the time will come when the closet philosopher will deny they were ever so considered. Any doubts that such a rough pile of rocks was really worshipped would have been soon dispelled by the tiny native paper flags bearing the legend, *Osame tatematsuru*, “respectfully dedicated,” which had been stuck into the ground before the symbol. The local names for this interesting pair are for the phallos Okko San, for the kteis Mekko San, which are names given by the Ainus—the dwellers in the land before the Mongol invasion—to the hill on which the two now stand and a neighboring hill similar in size and shape, on which the phallos formerly stood. Local tradition preserves the fact, and the *Japan Mail* of August 22, 1891, p. 224, refers to Oakkan and Meakkan as names given two neighboring hills in Yezo where the Ainus are still extant.

Of the third, the mere shed class, I found a good specimen in a shrine to the phallos as *Konsei* on the Konsei Pass above Lake Yumoto near Nikko. That this shrine dates back to the first possession of the land appears certain from the impartation of its name to the pass on which it stands. It may turn out that Okko and Mekko are also names of the pudenda, and originally gave their names to the hills on which they once stood. I got track of this shrine from that model *Handbook for Japan* (third edition) issued by B. H. Chamberlain and W. B. Mason, two of the foremost scholars in Japan. Their brief note runs thus: “Tradition says that the original object of reverence was made of gold, but that having been stolen, it was afterwards replaced by one of stone. Ex-votos, chiefly wood and stone emblems, are

often presented at the shrine. Very little is known about the origin of phallic worship in Japan, although it appears to have been at one time nearly universal in the country districts, especially those of the north and east." This brief statement is the only general one that has yet appeared on the subject, and no doubt summed up general knowledge on it three years ago. It was to be corrected in the forthcoming edition. The shrine consists of a wooden shed some four feet square with a low shelf running round three sides on which stand some dozen phalloi of various sizes in stone and wood. Hard by stands a large stone lantern. On the shrine appears the name and address of a Tokyo hotel company specially catering to pilgrims, and at whose expense the shrine had probably been restored.

Another shrine of this class stands at Yamada outside the northwest corner of the famous Naiku San—the Ise shrine to *Amaterasu*, the "Heaven-Shiner," regent of the Shinto pantheon, —and between two temples, one to *Oho-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami* "the Deity-Great-Mountain-Possessor," and the other to his daughter *Ko-no-hana-saku-ya-hime*, "Princess-Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees", who presides over Mount Fuji. The shrine frames a typical phallos and kteis side by side, though scores of native miniature torii (wooden gateway to temple) ever pile over and hide these antique dual deities from the careless observer. These torii had been removed for the occasion when the photograph found at the frontispiece of this work was taken. At the neighboring temple of the *Ko-no-hana-saku-ya-hime* native phalloi and ktenes are brought or taken by persons desiring children, spouse, or healing of diseases of the generative system. An erotic story is related of this deity, *Kojiki* 115; and her sister *Iwa-naga-hime*, "Enduring as the-Rocks," presiding over Mount Oyama, is symbolized by a large stone in the shrine at its summit and there worshiped by the harlots from Tokyo. This stone should be examined to learn whether it be a kteis or simply symbolic of the deity's name as explained in a legend or myth, *Kojiki* 116.

To this class probably belonged the cases mentioned in the *Mikado's Empire* 33: "I have noticed the prevalence of these shrines and symbols, especially in eastern and northern Japan, having

counted as many as a dozen, and this by the roadside, in a trip to Nikko. The barren of both sexes worship them, or offer them ex-voto. In Sagami, Kadzusa, and even in Tokyo itself, they were visible as late as 1874, cut in stone and wood." The road here referred to from Tokyo to Nikko is about 100 miles long, and three-fourths of it is part of one of the chief highways in Japan.

Of the last class, where the temple reduces to its original notion of a separated space in the open, there are naturally many cases of so primitive a cult. Such I infer from the remains was the now dismantled platform at Nikko, the stone phallos having been all dumped below an adjacent Buddhist temple—where they now lie—in response to the remonstrance of the then American minister, on the ground that the place was one of great summer resort for foreign families.

I transfer from a sheet published by Myase Sadao, and extracted by him from the Koshiden (Ancient History) of the famous Japanese historian and archæologist Hirata Atsutane, the following cases. All belong to the last-named class or a subdivision of it yet to be mentioned :

Phallos in the open at Kotakamura, in Katorigori, province of Shimosa.

Ditto at Otamura, Inabagori, Shimosa.

Ditto at Ishigimura, Mishimagori, Echigo.

Ditto at Shibuimura, Nishi Kasaigori, Musashi,

Phallos with kteis beside it at Matsuzawamura, Katorigori, Shimosa. "Both like to drink wine, and hence are called *Sake nomi ishi*, Wine drinking stones." The worshiper presents wine which they absorb very quickly. More than 250 years ago the kteis departed to the next village, and in consequence no marriage could be contracted between the people of the two villages. Sixty-two years ago the stone returned.

Lastly come an interesting sub-group, standing in the open hut distinguished by being naturally of sexual shape. Whether art of man has assisted groping nature, or the artist has embellished his sketch, I cannot judge. Certainly any such stones would not fail to attract the attention of primitive man and suggest or confirm that sexual philosophy of life which meets the student of primitive culture in every part of the world.

First comes an entire island, though of course a very small one, of height greater than breadth and bearing on its crown some dozen trees. It lies northeast of Awaji and is named *Onokorojima*, "Spontaneously congeled island," or *Eshima*, "Placenta island," about which more later.

Next comes a natural phallos some twenty feet high and a kteis of proportionate size, about two-thirds of a mile apart, on Inushima in Bizen.

Last on this sheet of Hiratas is a natural phallos and kteis placed suitably for the inception of coition. "Some one did injury to the rock and was destroyed, and all his house."

This is simply the list of a single observer and enquirer, and needs the complementation that can easily be given when once attention is called to the importance of the subject as a legitimate branch of nature worship, and one of the normal manifestations of religious thought in its search for some clue to that Absolute Ruler of Nature that the deepest thinkers still declare unsearchable.

Last in this strange story come two groups, each of four immense natural phalloi 15-200 feet high, situated in the court of a Buddhist temple called Reiganji, near Kuroki in the province of Chikugo.

II. *Symbols*.—Next let us consider phallic symbols, and here I cannot do other than describes the phallic part of my own collection of Shinto cultus implements now on exhibition in the Walker Museum of the University of Chicago.¹

PHALLOI.

1. Natural water-worn phallos of stone with a nodule forming the glans penis. Highly prized by former owner as the phallos of a deity. Cn. 22 x 10. From one of the very numerous brothels at Yamada, where stands the famous shrine to the Sun Goddess.

2. Natural water-worn phallos, the ridge of the glans being formed of a harder stratum, 9.5 x 4.8. From temple at Mizusawa.

3. Like No. 2 in all respects but size which is 7.1 x 2.3. From Mizusawa.

4. Natural Phallos but so little like its original that only its

¹ All measurements are given in centimeters.

source from a phallic temple would induce an unpracticed foreigner to credit that it was ever considered one. From phallic shrine at Yamada.

5. Phallos cut from volcanic stone, well executed and new, 20 x 10. From shrine on the Konsei Pass.

6. Phallos of baked clay, blackened by age. Realistic, 22 x 7. From brothel at Yamada, where it stood on the *Kamidana* "God-shelf," for occasional worship when an inmate had obtained a good fee.

7. Phallos of cast iron, 9.1 x 3.2. From Mizusawa.

8. Phallos of wood, 17 x 4. From Mizusawa.

9. Another, 19 x 4.

10. Another, stained pink, 22 x 6.

11. Phallos used in pairs as amulet for boys. Octagonal shaft surmounted with octagonal pyramid, stained in pink, scarlet and green. A string passing through central and vertical hole serves to suspend over child's shoulder. From Mizusawa.

12. Phallos of clay, gilded and painted to represent the *shime-nawa* or sacred rope, 3.5 x 1.5. From earthenware store opposite the Inari shrine.

13. Phallos-glaus, forming head of a seated man in ceremonial costume. Clay, with impressed and colored garments, 6.5 x 5.5. Old, from dealer in Miyajima. A remarkable case of personification.

14. A Priapus, phallos enormous and colored bright red. Clay, 4.5 x 3.5. From Inari store.

15. Phallos in shape of enormous mushroom, borne on a woman's back. Painted clay, 7 x 2.5. From Inarè store. A toy, cf. No. 17.

16. Phallos in shape of a wood obelisk, being a votive for easy parturition, 12 x 6. From a shrine at Nikko.

17. A nest of five objects carved in wood and gaily painted, as follows : *a.* Fukusuke. A man in old Japanese style beckoning with his left hand. Common in stores to insure success in trade. Compare Robin Goodfellow. 14 x 10. *b.* Otafuku. A woman of the fat type of beauty. Function similar to above, both are known to every Japanese child, 9 x 5. *c.* Phallos painted red with sacred rope round, 6 x 4. *d.* Phallos painted yellow, with rope, 4 x 2.5. *e.* *Hoshi-no-tama* "Jewel of Omnipotence."

An onion-shaped object of Buddhist origin, 2 x 2, cf. p. 29. From a store in Nikko near the site of a demolished phallic shrine and meant for use as a toy. The associates of the phallos in this group plainly show that it has here sunk from the rank of a god receiving worship to that of a more or less efficient sign of good luck, much as the horseshoe, cornucopia and slipper — all probably symbols of the kteis — are still used in England. This use was exceedingly common in Japan until about twenty years ago, the toy shops, earthenware shops, and hawkers being well supplied with them. (*Mikado's Empire*, W. E. Griffis, 33.)

KTENES.

18. Natural water-worn kteis, being a flat piece of slate with irregular periphery some 4.5 in diameter, and having a water-worn aperture near the center. From Mizusawa.

19. Natural kteis of quartz with deep indentation near centre, but not water-worn. Irregular, 4 x 2.5. From Yamada shrine.

20. Sea ear-shell, Latin *Haliotis tuberculata*, Japanese *Awabi*. Bears name of donor to the Kande shrine. The living shellfish is so suggestive of the kteis that Japanese women often use its name in that sense. From Kande shrine.

21. Cowry shell, Latin *Cypraea porcellana*, Japanese *Taka-ragai*, "treasure shell." Presented at temples by barren women, 3.5 x 2.5. From Yamada store.

MISCELLANEOUS.

22. Bamboo grass rings interlinked to symbolize coition, but precise use not learned. From Mizusawa.

23. Votive picture on wood from the phallic shrine at Kande, representing a tiger which symbolizes the month in which the donor was born, 32 x 25.

24. Votive picture on wood representing a horse, from the phallic shrine at Yamada, 6 x 4. For meaning cf. p. 29.

25. Akaza no tsue. Canes of the thorny shrub *Chenopodium album*, from Mizusawa. These are used to set up round the house lot to preserve boundary lines. This combination of phallic and boundary ideas by a temple dedicated to Saruta hiko, whose epithet here is *Dosojin* "Way-beginning God," which may refer to his function (*Kojiki*, section 33) as guide, easily sug-

gests the same triple combination in Hermes. Other evidence for identity between the phallos and the road-god appears in Mr. Satow's article in the *Westminster Review*. Was the phallic cane placed in the field to render it fertile, then made to serve also as boundary mark, and finally to preside over the roads which would naturally often adjoin boundaries?

26. Peach made in candy and sold to children by hawkers at certain festivals as a symbol of the kteis, for which it appears its cleft adapts it. So the apricot is used in India. From Kyato.

27. Ginseng, Chinese *Genseng*, Japanese *Ninjin*. The best is grown in Corea. Price varies with degree of the root's resemblance to the human form, which in some cases is remarkable. The best specimens fetch three dollars each for use in medicine where it passes for a panacea. It is the mandrake of Genesis 30, but not the plant wrongly so named in the United States.

CHARMS.

Of all cultus implements paper charms are by far the most numerous in Japan, no house being without some dozen. Among the various kinds is the phallic.

28. Charm guaranteeing easy birth bearing the name of Konsei. Cf. p 18, 11 x 5.

29. Charm bearing the inscription *An-san-marmori*, "Easy-birth-charm." The paper is folded into a triangular shape and contains a natural equilateral triangular black stone, 16 x 8. This shape is unique among all the ten thousand charms in Japan and can be accounted for in no way except its resemblance to the pudenda viewed externally, which, as seen, *e. g.*, in statues, is just that of this talismanic stone taken base uppermost. The color is also thus alone accounted for. Of the same color is the famous Diana of the Ephesians now in the Naples Museum. Her numerous breasts, and the erotic symbolism on her robe all indicate the sexual idea. From Sumiyoshi temple.

30. Charm bearing the inscription "Honorable-God-offering," and containing rice and seaweed, the broth from which must be drunk by a barren woman. 20 x 12. From Sumiyoshi temple.

31. Charm bearing the inscription "Seed-lend-temple-divine-ticket." 16 x 5. From Sumiyoshi temple.

32. Charm bearing the inscription *Shō ichi i Konsei dai myō in tai hatsu*. "True first rank, root life, great shining deity, great charm." Right and left of this central text stand the words "Good for all diseases below the belt. Life will be long. Good for woman when rearing child. Mother and child will be healthy." Inside this envelope is a slip bearing the inscription *Hō sai. Saruta hiko. Izanagi. Izanami. Chinza. Harai tamae kiyome de tamae*. "Offering, purification. Saruta hiko. Izanagi. Izanami. Seat (of worship). Grant to clear away and clean."

The introduction into this charm of Izanagi and Izanami will become clear on reading the section, "Phallicism in the *Kajiki*." Saruta hiko finds mention here, I believe, owing to an extension or misunderstanding of Saruta's original function as guide to Ninigi no Mikoto when descending from heaven, *Kojiki*, 107-8. His consequent title *michi moto*, "road origin," has been taken in the sense of life-origin, while he has been said to have been born spontaneously. All the data known to me indicate that his true place is in a lightning myth.

This charm is water-stained in consequence of its having been consigned in a box together with many like it to a neighboring pool on suppression of the cult some twenty years ago. When iconoclastic zeal had somewhat abated, the box was fished up, and its owner courteously presented this precious relic of a well nigh extinct cult to a zealous collector of cultus implements. The supreme interests of science should protect the giver from any disagreeable consequences that might be inflicted by those about him now ashamed of the cult. The very high rank, next that of the Mikado himself, here assigned Konsei shows the high consideration the cult could receive. The presence of a phallos today in the garden of a samurai—the old military and literary class—well known to me, though long ignored by the noble family, affords additional proof that the cult was not limited to the lower class.

33. Charm bearing the inscription "Konsei, great shining god. Easy birth god charm." From temple at Mizusawa.

Before leaving this topic a caution on the danger of confusing phallos with other stone monuments, of which there are in Japan as elsewhere several kinds, may not be wasted. Not every standing stone or log longer than it is thick is a phallos, though some

90 per cent. of phalloi are included in that definition, the remainder lying horizontal or pendant but in either case then accompanied by the scrotum. One needs first of course to learn the history, use, and any inscription on the stone, and then frequently discovers that the stone is a wayside gravestone, a boundary stone, a sign post guiding to a place of pilgrimage, a weather-worn *Nure-butsu*—an unsheltered image of one of the Buddhas—or some memorial stone, perhaps, of an extinct tree, perhaps of an execution ground. These specifications all find examples in Japan, and might be mistaken by the tyro anxious to find spoil. *Per contra* the phalloi now extant and the product of handicraft in Japan are unmistakable by reason of their realism, though those produced by nature need a practiced imagination.

III. *Phallic Festivals*.—Every temple in Japan besides celebrating the great national festivals makes one in honor of the deity to which itself is specially dedicated. In 1892 I visited the Kande shrine a second time on such an occasion held there on the 18th day of the 3d month, old style, which corresponds to a varying date in our March. The date of the festival at the phallic shrine at Morioka varies from this by only a day, and both plainly concur with the Springtide festivals of all peoples. *Tylor's Prim. Culture* II., 297. This festival presented no features other than those usual on such occasions. A Shinto priest came from a distance for the occasion and presented in the little shrine the usual offerings of rice cake, fruit, etc., accompanying them with prayers. Men, women and children from the country side came and departed after making the little offering and brief prayer, and purchasing refreshment at the temporary stalls hard by. The neighboring kteis received no offerings though most of the worshipers visited it also. The conduct of all was irreproachable, and the bearing quite unembarrassed, for their errand was the honest one of entreating sexual health and family increase from that deity whose attributes best fitted him to grant them. Here is an account of a more questionable phallic procession as given by Dresser, pp. 197-9: "At the next village (*en route* from Tokyo to Nikko, where Griffis saw the dozen phalloi) which we reached a great Shinto festival was being held. Thousands of people were laughing and shouting and following

an enormous car, something like that of Jaganath in India. On this car is a platform surrounded by a low railing, while in the center rises a mast thirty or forty feet high from the top of which fly the cut papers which symbolize the Shinto religion (*gohei* are meant), while around its lower portion a tent of red and white cloth is suspended from a hoop. On the platform are musicians making rude music with gongs and fifes, and a masked actor, whose actions would not be tolerated in England. The staff of this actor is unmistakably phallic. He appears alternately as a man and woman—changing his dress in the tent of which we have spoken. It seems that, since foreigners have been permitted to enter the country, such ceremonies have been shorn of many of their characteristics, symbols have been reduced in number, while the processions themselves are now but of rare occurrence.” (This was written in 1882. The restriction referred to resulted from the first Japanese embassy to Europe in 1872.)

I have learned orally from an old resident in Japan of a procession similar to this, where the center of interest was an enormous phallos carried in appropriate position by a man.

The magnificent procession described by Humbert on pp. 322–3 of his *Manners and Customs of the Japanese* as taking place in Tokyo in 1863 was not properly phallic, though it included some suspicious objects, such as a model lobster, buffalo, and monkey, and seven prostitutes “majestically attired in state costumes.”

The following festival may easily be a survival of a thoroughly phallic one, and affords evidence for a sexual symbolism that strikes the modern mind as very strange. It is held in the court of a Buddhist temple, which probably adopted and modified the originally coarser rites. Young men and women meet at this Gwanzandaishi temple located half way up Mount Hiyei, amidst a vast forest traversed only by footpaths, in the month of August of an evening, and spend the entire night in a peculiar dance, where forming promiscuously in lines they work their way through the crowds of elder and younger people with a simultaneous swing of the arms, meanwhile singing a composition, which after expressing sympathy with a certain criminal Gorobei by name, in his examination before the stern judge, proceeds to the erotic effusion of a young woman, from which I cull the symbolic part;

“With what words shall I compose my love letter? With those belonging to birds, or fishes, or vegetables? Yes, Yes, as I am a greengrocer, I will use the names of vegetables.” After several vegetable metaphors and puns suited to expressing her passion, she continues, “Would you like to taste the first fruit of the long bean? If not, would you not try to break the hairless peach? Oh quick! Ego sum cupidus coiendi tecum.”

Lastly, here is a neat piece of sexual metaphor which speaks volumes for the familiarity in the primitive times, from which the Manyefushifu where it occurs dates, with such symbols. White shells seem to be a synonym for hairless peach. Generally of course in the Orient the kteis is figured or described as black, while the phallas is colored red, if at all. It is necessary briefly to premise that the piece refers to a method of divination called *Tsujiura* “Road-divining” where the person planted a stick in the road, made offerings to it and besought an answer:

“When I went out
and stood in the road,
and asked the evening oracle
when he would come back
who went over the sweetheart’s mount
and the lover’s mount,
saying that he would
pick up the awabi shells
which come ashore
in the Region of Woods,
the evening oracle said to me:
‘Sweetheart!
he for whom you wait
is searching for
the white shells which
come near on the waves
of the offing, the white shells
which the shore waves
bring near.
He does not come,
he picks them up. . . .
If he be long,
'twill be but seven days,
if he be quick,
'twill be but two days.
He has heard you.
Do not yearn,
my Sweetheart!’ ”

—*Trans. As. Soc.*, Vol. 7, p. 427

IV. *Rituals*.—No fixed ritual for the phallos is known to me. Certainly none is contained in the list of the Yengishiki, the official collection of rituals made 927 A. D. (*Trans. As. Soc.* Vol. 7, prt. 2, pages 103-4.) The content of the impromptu prayers made in this case is always request for some good in connection with generation, *e. g.*, the charm from Makibori bears guarantees of easy birth, health of mother and child, cure of diseases of the generative organs, and long life. Inquiries from worshipers elicit similar ideas and they reappear in the practice of borrowing a phallos from the shrine during child-birth, and, when the issue has proved good, of returning two new ones.

V. *Phallicism in the Kojiki*.—Having examined some extant data we are in a position to attempt the interpretation of two passages in the Kojiki, the sacred book of Shinto. This was committed to writing 712 A. D., when a collation was made of the then extant traditions purporting to extend backward to a divine age which ended some 1500 years before. None of the authorities on Shinto known to me have attempted any detailed interpretation of the cosmogony forming Volume 1 of this Kojiki. The general, and for the rest correct statement that Shinto is a compound of ancestor-worship and nature-worship has not been further discussed by any writer except Mr. Satow, who enters more fully into the matter in his *Westminster Review* article, without however at all noticing separate myths, and making no mention of sections 3 and 4, which we here copy from Mr. B. H. Chamberlain's translation given in the *Trans. As. Soc.* Supplement to Vol. X.

Section 3.—"Hereupon all the Heavenly Deities commanded the two Deities, His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites and Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites, ordering them 'to make, consolidate, and give birth to this drifting land.' Granting to them an heavenly jeweled spear, they (thus) deigned to charge them. So the two Deities standing upon the Floating Bridge of Heaven, pushed down the jeweled spear and stirred with it, whereupon, when they had stirred the brine until it went curdle-curdle, and drew (the spear) up, the brine that dripped down from the end of the spear was piled up and became an island. This is the island of Onogoro."

Section 4.—"Having descended from Heaven onto this island, they saw to the erection of an heavenly august pillar, they saw to the erection of a hall of eight fathoms. Tunc quæsi-vit (Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat) a minore sorore Augustâ Feminâ-Qui-Invitat: 'Tuum corpus quo in modo factum est?' Respondit dicens: 'Meum corpus crescens crevit, sed una pars est quæ non crevit continua.' Tunc dixit Augustus Mas-Qui-Invitat: 'Meum corpus crescens crevit, sed est una pars quæ crevit superflua. Ergo an bonum erit ut hanc corporis mei partem quæ crevit superflua in tui corporis partem quæ non crevit continua inseram, et regiones procreem?' Augusta Femina-Qui-Invitat respondit dicens: 'Bonum erit.' Tunc dixit Augustus M.-Q.-I.: 'Quod quum ita sit, ego et tu, hanc cœlestem augustam columnnam circumeuntes mutuoque occurrentes, augustarum (*i. e.*, privatarum) partium augustam coitionem faciemus.' Hâc pactione factâ dixit (Augustus M.-Q.-I.): 'Tu a dexterâ circumeuns occurre; ego a sinistrâ occurram.' Absolutâ pactione ubi circumierunt, Augusta F.-Q.-I. primum inquit: 'O venuste et amabilis adolescens!' Deinde Augustus M.-Q.-I. inquit: 'O venusta et amabilis virgo!' Postquam singuli orationi finem fecerunt, (Augustus M.-Q.-I.) locutus est sorori, dicens: 'Non decet feminam primum verba facere.' Nihilomimes in thalamo (opus procreationis) inceperunt, et filium (nomine) Hirudiuem (vel Hirudini similem) pepere-runt. This child they placed in a boat of reeds, and let it float away. Next they gave birth to the island of Aha. This likewise is not reckoned among their children."

Now our view is that from beginning to end of this Vol. 1 is presented a series of nature-myths still susceptible to interpretation, and that among them these sections 3 and 4 attempt a cosmogony expressed in terms of a phallic symbol—sec. 3—and of a phallic ceremony—sec. 4.

First, no one will deny the transparency of the epithets Male-Who-Invites and Female-Who-Invites. They are just the complementary pair so indispensable to reproduction projected backwards to account for original production. Hirata, a Japanese antiquarian of first rank, considers the "jeweled spear" a phallus and scrotum (*Trans. As. Soc.*, Vol. 3, Appendix,

p. 59), while the Island of Onogoro on account of its peculiar shape passes in the native imagination for a gigantic phallos, and is said to contain many such scattered about it. Hear the redoubtable Hirata again in the *Inyōseki* under the sketch described in this article, p. 14. He writes: "This is Onokoro jima, etc. It is solitary and has no connection in its roots. It stands in the midst of waves and never moves in spite of great earthquakes even. In the island are many curious stones, many of them being shaped like male and female generative organs. The stones produce dewlike liquid, and have a mineral taste on the outside, while within (the stones?) are earths and sands." Now, though this record was made by Hirata so late as 1812, since the phenomena are all natural, they of course antedated the mythical imaginings of the *Kojiki*, to whose authors the island was well known, and doing so they evidently formed the elements of the myth. The only need then was for poetic fancy to weave primitive pair, artificial phallos, and phallic island into some connected whole, and this made section 3. What was Hirata's ground for his view of the jeweled spear is not stated, but Japanese archæology gives monumental evidence of the existence in the polished stone age of phallic rods in great variety, though their exact use is a matter only of inference. These stone rods or stones, called locally "Raitsui" or thunderbolts, are figured, along with numerous other remains, in an admirable monograph by the owner of the finest collection of raitsui in Japan, ex-Governor T. Kanda of Tokyo. In this monograph Plate 7, Figs. 2 and 4; Plate 8, Fig. 8, and Plate 9, Fig. 1 show incised figures which are plainly the kteis, in full accord with another statement of Hirata's, that the jeweled spear bore on it the figure of the female organ (*Inyōseki*).

In section IV. our mythical cosmogony first introduces coition as a means of conceiving origins. After using, in sections I. and II., terms of terrestrial motion and vegetable life, and in section III. a mixture of terms from terrestrial and animal life, the myth proceeds to fuller circumstantiality in the familiar terms of purely animal life. Our previous investigations make quite obvious the meaning of "heavenly august pillar," while apart from those side lights the terms here employed must have remained unintel-

ligible, or at least conjectural. Plainly it was a phallos. As to the parallel reading in the *Nikongi*—a nearly contemporaneous but much rationalized *a la* Chinese account of Japanese history—which Mr. Chamberlain translates “they made the island of Onogoro the central pillar of the land,” and which he considers “more rational” than the account in the *Kojiki*, the obvious truth is that it is “more rational” only to those not aware of or not awake to the phallic phenomena described in our preceding pages. Per contra in the light of those phenomena the *Kojiki*’s account is fully vindicated. Textual purity can never be verified better than by archæology. The “hall of eight fathoms” was probably a coition house. Mr. B. H. Chamberlain writes in his Introduction to the *Kojiki* XXVIII., “It would also appear to be not unlikely that newly married couples retired into a specially built hut for the purpose of consummating the marriage, and it is certain that for each sovereign a new palace was erected on his accession.” (*Trans. As. Soc.*, Vol. X. Supplement.) Mr. Chamberlain no doubt bases his view on the specifications in the *Kojiki* of a thalamus as the place of first coition for man and wife. Of such mentions I count three, viz., pp. 20, 66, and 75, and note further the following, which seems to indicate a similar purpose:

“Eight clouds arise. The eightfold fence of Idzumo makes an eightfold fence for the spouses to retire (within). Oh! that eightfold fence.” (*Trans. As. Soc.*, Vol. X., Supplement 64.)

The parturition house is described, *Kojiki* 118, as eight fathoms long, and this is the length of the coition house in our myth, eight being the perfect number of the Japanese, and probably often used in the sense of fitting or proper. The purpose of such a coition house will be obvious to those familiar with the original function of the bridegroom’s “best man” as protector during the consummation of a marriage which depended on capture, and with the jocose interruptions made on a bridal pair after retiring, *e. g.*, even in England, and so late as the sixteenth century, according to *Brand’s Antiquities*. The sequel of section IV. rather implies that the column stood in the thalamus, but whether within or near it, the running round the column before the marriage consummation will be best understood in the light of those notions we have found everywhere connected with phallic cult,

among which that of productivity is plainly the proper one here. In Japan, as elsewhere under the patriarchal government of primitive times, the more children a pair had the richer they were likely to become, and such a recognition of Konsei as this would be considered effectual to that end. If so, nothing would be more natural than for mythic fancy to express in terms so familiar that fruitful union which resulted in the production of nothing less than the islands of divine Japan, as the later sections proceed to relate. The later Shinto apologists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries smooth all difficulties by stating that the islands have grown enormously since birth! I submit that this view meets all the special and concrete notions of the myth, while no other view can meet any, and would have to account for a senseless farrago of ideas, ending in what must then be regarded as a mere bawdy tale, for which the undoubted general coarseness of manners in primitive Japan, as everywhere under like conditions, affords no sufficient ground.

II. CREED OF PHALLICISM.

To every cult belongs a creed, implied or expressed, written or oral. Of the phallic cult the creed is implied. It shares its world-view with the nature-worship of which it forms one phase, and, as such, sees a superior being, spirit, or god embodied in objects naturally or artificially made to resemble animal generative organs. I write "embodied in" advisedly, having in mind particularly the natural phalloi which are prized vastly higher than the manufactured ones, and being found in nature could hardly be taken for aught else than the veritable organ of the god. Mysticism would cover all difficulties in the view. To such superiors—which is all that the Japanese *kami*, often translated gods or god, means—primitive man turned in his needs, and naturally, to that particular one presiding over the sphere in which his need occurred. Hence comes the phallic cult which forms as natural, proper and legitimate a system of worship as that of the sun or fire, and can only by gross misconception be associated with obscenity, though this is often done by those devoid of sympathetic, historic imagination and anxious to point

a moral or adorn a tale. That the whole symbolism, though most natural and striking for that ever mysterious vital force of nature, has become inappropriate for us who are wont to say: "God is spirit," affords no proof that its first intent was not wholly as described above. Cf. *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, by Rev. Sir G. W. Cox, 349-50.

I have written in the preceding paragraph as if the object of the phallic cult were one single thing, the phallos; and, if the reader has accepted the assumption without challenge, he has but thought in accord with the general treatment of the subject which faultily neglects to duly express the *duality* of the cult. We speak of phallicism and the Germans of Phalluscult, and thereby tend to ignore the kteis-cult which prevails but little if any less than phallos-cult. But just as the term man is used for mankind, *i. e.*, man and woman, so phallicism serves for what is properly phalloktenism, cult of the phallos and kteis. This dualism shows itself in the *usual juxtaposition* in India of the linga and yoni, in Syria of the masseba and ashera (I take the masseba as the male symbol), in Greece of the phallos and kteis (*Monumens des Dames Romaines*, Plate 50. *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, G. W. Cox, 362), in Egypt of the cross and ring combined into the crux-ansata, in China of the yang and yin as seen intertwined in the Corean crest called in Japanese futatsu-tomoye, and finally in Japan of the yoseki and inseki.

This dualism is equally conspicuous in the more anthropomorphized objects of worship represented by the phallos and kteis. Thus Hinduism coördinates Kali with Siva, whose symbols in particular the kteis and phallos are, and Minakshi—the local goddess at Madura identified with Kali—is carried every night to share the couch of Sundaresvara. Indeed, in India, where pretty much everything both rational and irrational has been tried, a whole sect, the Saktas devotes exclusive attention to this feminine side of nature. In Syria Astarte coördinated with Baal, in Egypt Isis with Osiris, in Greece Demeter with Dionysas (*Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, G. W. Cox, 362), and in north Europe Freya with Freyr, and each of these goddesses has often received exclusive honors, usually with the same demoralizing effect as in India. Some students point to Mariolatry as the last

example of the same tendency (*Mythology of the Aryan Nations* G. W. Cox, 355). So obviously necessary to reproduction is duality that where a spouse is wanting, feminine qualities are attributed to the male, as with Quetzalcoatl god of reproduction among the Aztecs (*American Hero Myths*, Brinton, 127).

Similarly in Japan we find the couples Kami-musubi-o-kami and Takami-musubi-o-kami, the "Divine-Producer" and "Divine-Produceress" as some understand them (*Parliament of Religions*, J. H. Barrows, 452. Lectures on Shinto, Professor Matsuyama, Kyoto. Kakemono from Izumo O Yashiro), and again Izanagi and Izanami, the "Male-that-Invites" and "Female-that-Invites," compared by native Christians with Adam and Eve, a comparison made in the first place naïvely, but hitting the mark quite closely since both couples belong to phallic myth, though they differ absolutely in subsequent moralization and consequent religious value. But in Japan, where phallicism remains still, as in India, a living faith, it becomes possible to trace out this dualism into a number of details not otherwise, I think, easily explicable.

A quite unequivocal case is that of the interlinked rings of bamboo grass (No. 22 p. 16) expressly designed to represent coition. Equally significant is the presentation of awabi shells (No. 20)—symbols of the kteis—before the phallos and not the kteis at Kande. Conversely a woman borrows from the Mizusawa temple a phallos, not a kteis, to help her in parturition. At Yamada the reciprocity is recognized only in so far as votives of both sexes are presented, though whether any distinction is made in the deity before which they are placed I have yet to learn. The rule valid there to offer a phallos in order to obtain a husband or son, and a kteis for a wife or daughter implies the notion underlying all magic that formal likeness with anything insures power over it. Here too belongs the offering only of phalloi to the phallos on the Konsei Pass. Perhaps a further detail of the dualism necessary to all fruitful issue appears in the practice of pouring wine over the phallos and kteis at Matsuzawa which are said to rapidly absorb it, and in the statement of Hirata that the phalloi and ktenes of Onogoro-shima secrete a dewy liquid. Similarly tiny wooden tablet votives bearing a sketch of

a horse are presented to the Yamada pillar pair. This horse can hardly mean other than in Buddhist symbolism, namely, the fertilization rain cloud (*Indian Buddhism*, T. W. Rhys Davids, 133). The rain falling from this cloud is the impregnating medium from heaven to earth in the cosmic myths of so many peoples. Were it not that the *hosbi-no-tama*, "Jewel-of-Omnipotence," likewise a Buddhist symbol, has been introduced on to the sacred Ise Shrine in the same town, I should hesitate to believe that any Buddhist symbol had penetrated this citadel of Shinto. The horse, however, may prove, together with the sacred albino horse common in great Shinto shrines, a survival of the great horse sacrifice of the Mongol shamanism from which Shinto is descendent. With this Japanese notion of fertilization compare the effusion of water—sometimes with bilva leaves and marigolds—in the Indian cult of the linga-yoni (*Brâhmanism and Hinduism*, M. Williams, 439). Lastly, in the phallic procession described by Mr. Draper, an actor appears dressed alternately as man and woman with which compare the exchange of attire in Western orgies. Further data may require modification of the position here taken, and it is much to be hoped that such will be obtained by many investigators in Japan before this primitive formal biology yield to the modern causal science of that name. In any case some special reason must be sought why the votive offering to phallos and kteis are duplicates or reciprocals of themselves. No parallel to this practice outside of phallicism is known to me either in or out of Japan; for the foxes so often duplicated there are so-called servants of Inari San, to whom, therefore, they are offered, and not to the fox itself.

The creed or mental equivalent of the phallic cult, then, is that reproduction is controlled by two deities related as man and wife, that these are best represented by their reproductive organs found by man in stream and field, and that they are best worshiped by the presentation of similar objects of a sex, either opposite or similar to that of the deity concerned. In the case of Konsei, worshiped near Yumoto without any sexual partner, emphasis is placed, as frequently in other cults, on the male element.

One commentary on such a creed is obvious and unavoidable

and will serve equally well for all creeds. The mental elevation and consequent value of gods varies solely and directly as the mental elevation of their worshipers. Show me your man, and I will show you his god.

III. PLACE OF PHALLICISM IN THE EVOLUTION OF RELIGION.

First, there is no need to search for any simpler or more obvious principle on which to base phallicism than its own, namely, worship of the superior beings that control reproduction. In other words phallicism may easily be, what no existing evidence confutes and all confirms, namely, a thoroughly primitive form of that naturism,—nature worship—which judicious thinkers regard as coördinate with animism—spirit worship—instead of attempting, as H. Spencer, to derive it from the latter. This contention rests particularly on the existence of the *natural* phallos and kteis, than which, of course, nothing can be more primitive since man has roamed this earth. Wherever the erosive action of water, whether rain, river or sea, produced from rocks and stones the shapes which even now can vividly suggest to our restrained imaginations the animal generative organs, there *a fortiori* the primitive savage must have seen indubitable evidence of what to him would seem explicable only as a partial embodiment of the controllers of his otherwise often unaccountable fortunes. Thus in a very striking way “Nature the instructor of primeval man” has suggested to him not only his inventions but his worship (*Tylor's Primitive Culture*, I., 64). But, moreover, and of peculiar interest in its bearing on the contention of naturists and animists as to the origin of religion, here in the phallos and kteis were found direct indications of the anthropomorphic nature of those his controllers, for which sun, moon, star, or any other object whatsoever of nature worship failed to afford any morphological hint. If here were the veritable phallos and kteis of his controllers, the controllers themselves could not be far off, and would necessarily be imagined in full complementation of the visible organs, that is as human beings, or minds in bodies, which conception is precisely what animism sometimes supposes itself alone able to account for.

Second, as to the sequences of this cult. The light thrown by phallicism on the essential nature and evolution of religion is clear and striking. Both the distance and the direction of the newer views of God from the older are made apparent. That distance is not immeasurable but has lain in time, and that direction is not inscrutable but has consisted in progress. Man has been the measure of things—if not the individual yet the race, and that whether his measure has worked as the limit of capacity or limit of construction. If the former alternative—that of capacity—be taken, an objective, real god has revealed himself progressively, and therefore at any single stage only partially, to man, just because such partial revelation has been all that man could receive; if the latter alternative—that of construction—be taken, a subjective, unreal—or according to some thinkers nevertheless real—God has been constructed, imagined, or projected by man, but always only progressively, and therefore at any one stage only partially, just because such partial construction was all of which man was then capable. (*Self Revelation of God*. S. Harris, *passim*). And therefore, in any case, as man has evolved throughout his physical and mental nature, his concept of God has *pari passu* improved. “Du gleichst dem Geist den du begreifst” holds equally true in its converse form. We understand the spirit we resemble. In the case of the Absolute Spirit this understanding can never reach completeness, and our principle therefore reduces in its case to the humbler proposition: “Man understands God *so far as* he resembles him.” The challenge of the skeptic: “Show me your God,” must be met by the answer alike of Christian, philosopher and anthropologist: “Show me your man.” There was a stage in man’s mental progress when God could be revealed to or constructed by man best—that is most intelligibly and impressively—as phallos and kteis. Among all the things that are made it would have been marvelous indeed, if organs so conspicuously instrumental to the mysterious propagation of life had not been used to “perceive the invisible things of him since the creation of the world even his eternal power and divinity.” Rom, 1:20. Of all the power desired by man alike for himself, flocks and fields, productivity was the chief, and consequently

the objects considered to embody that power the most honored. That man thus often submerged his god in nature instead of conceiving him as an "*eternal power*" above nature was natural anthropologically, though justly repudiated by Paul, a representative of a more progressed order. The original symbols, now so shocking to us in their bare materialism, have been refined with man's refinement until "finally in the exquisite legend of the Sangreal the symbols have become a sacred thing, which only the pure in heart may see and touch." (*Mythology of the Aryan Nations*. Rev. Sir G. W. Cox, 360.)

IV. DOES PHALLICISM BELONG TO SHINTO?

Since phallicism has shrines, festivals, priests and amulets identical with those of Shinto, and since its principal symbol and ceremonial receive mention in the sacred book of Shinto, and since phallicism belongs of right to nature worship, which in Japan constitutes, with ancestor cult, Shinto, it seems probable that the phallicism of Japan forms an integral part of Shinto. And so Rein in his *Japan* "Like phallic-worship, which, together with its symbols formerly so numerous and widespread, has, as a result of foreign influence, been entirely banished since the beginning of the reign of Meiji (1868), belonged to Shintoism, so also does this ancestor-worship appear at least to have judged the Yoshiwaras—prostitute quarters—very mildly, if not to have directly favored them." *Japan*, p. . . . Note several errors here, however. Phallicism, as we now know, has not yet by any means been entirely banished. Shinto is not rightly designated ancestor-worship, certainly not if it includes phallicism. Nor should phallicism ever be linked, as here, with an undoubtedly immoral institution like the Yoshiwara, the Japanese name for the harlot quarter, primarily in Tokyo, but subsequently anywhere.

On the other hand, the somewhat unequal distribution of phallicism in Japan, *e. g.*, its apparent absence from the great highway called the Tokaido, the absence of its ritual from the Shinto official prayer-book or *Yengishiki*, and some philological and archæological facts that point to the Ainus as the source of the cult require consideration before the connection with Shinto

can be considered settled. Batchelor indeed makes no mention of phallicism in his *Ainu of Japan*, but the fashion of garbling treatises from all that would unfit them for parlor reading prevails to such an extent that negative evidence on this topic and kindred sociological and physiological ones amounts to simply nothing. The above data best suit the view that phallicism, while originally and properly a part of Shinto, was little if at all recognized in later official religion, though it persisted in the folk-religion, where indeed it still survives in moribund state.

One general remark. The bearing of the discovery of phallicism in Japan upon the science of comparative religion is of considerable interest. Phallicism, long since demonstrated for the Indo-Keltic race and easily demonstrable for the Semitic, now turns up among the Mongols. Thus this now obsolescent cult appears to have prevailed in all three of the historic races. This generality well matches the naturalness and obviousness of the notion involved. The bearing of Japanese phallicism upon the controversy between Canon McClatchie and Dr. Legge upon Chinese phallicism must remain for future treatment.

V. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH.

Are there other dances of the Gwan-Zan-daishi type?

How did hashira come to be the numeral for gods?

Why are snakes—dried and enshrined—worshiped in Idzurmo as protectors from fire and flood? The snake associated with Benten, and worshiped at Shirakumo-jiu-ja, Kyoto, by the presentation of toy pails of water probably came with Benten from Hinduism *via* Buddhism.

Why does a bit of *awabi*, or its picture, accompany every present made in Japan? Kaempfer in his chap. 13 writes, "it is intended to remind them of the frugality as well as the poverty of their ancestors who lived chiefly upon the flesh of this shell." *Pinkerton*, 7, 734. Probably no such high didactic motive ever entered the heads of men of the period when this custom began. Kaempfer assigns the same reason—here well known to be false—for preserving the primitive type of structure in the Ise Shrine. Does this bit of *awabi* mean "I

am clinging to your friendship," in the sense of "Awabi no kata omoi." Or does the awabi here signify a wish for that abundance which the kteis mediates and in other lands symbolizes? And does its lozenge-shaped envelope symbolize the same organ?

Why were so many phallic shrines found on the highway from Tokyo to Nikko (*Mikado's Empire* 33), and none on the much longer road from Tokyo to Kohe, *i. e.*, the great Tokaido? That none were there when Caron, Kaempfer, and Siebold traveled it is fairly inferable from their silence as to them, while they did not spare the licentiousness they found common around them. (*Caron* 613, 629, 634. *Kaempfer* chap. xx.) Kaempfer, however, remarks on "other religious objects on the road, as also other monstrous images and idols."

Why are red and white the favorite colors of Shinto, as seen in the miko's dress at the kagura, in the flags carried at funerals, and in those about Miya, as at Miajinja dedicated to Hiruko, the leech child of Izanaji and Izanami?

